2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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epidemic, in view of the census figure reached by Dunbar and Allis in the summer of 1840 of 6,787, exclusive of some detachments of the tribe then absent, who could at most bring the total to 7,500.

With the organization of the Department of Indian Affairs by act of Congress in 1834, an agency was established for dealings with the Oto and Missouri, Ponca, Omaha, and Pawnee tribes, located for many years at Council Bluffs. An agent does not seem to have taken active charge of the affairs of these tribes until 1836.

Missionaries had worked among the Pawnee for about two years just prior to the removal of the South Bands. Dunbar was among the Tcawi. Allis with the Skiri, and Satterlee with the Kitkahaxki[x]. Satterlee was murdered in 1837 by a white trader, but Dunbar and Allis helped the bands locate their settlements, and accompanied them in the removal. At the time of the removal a location was chosen on Plum Creek for the site of the government establishment and a mission: but on account of the disturbances caused by Sioux raids, execution of the plan was delayed until 1844.

With the removal north of the Platte, resident farmers settled with the Pawnee, and Samuel Allis was appointed government teacher and opened a school. Nevertheless, the period from 1841 to 1847 was one of breakdown and chaos in Pawnee life, rather than progress.

Once on the north side of the Platte, the Pawnee were exposed more than ever before to remorseless attacks of the Dakota who had been increasing in numbers and boldness for some time. This constant threat hung over every month of the year.

The intention of the government in sending farmers among the Pawnee was to teach them plough agriculture. Their old methods of digging-stick cultivation while they had yielded relatively large crops had never been sufficiently productive to permit the Pawnee to rely completely on their fields. In the summer, observers reported, they succeeded in raising but little more corn, beans and squash than they consumed by the time the cold weather set in. Occasionally their crops were more plentiful but any drought threatened to leave them without a subsistence minimum.

The farmers were indefatigable in breaking up virgin soil for cultivation. The school teacher, finding it impossible to carry out any genuine instruction the first years, joined in, and helped with the agriculture. All reports indicate that the Pawnee themselves showed commendable zeal in their efforts to learn and gave promise of becoming successful farmers more rapidly than other tribes. Nevertheless the farming operations; in the long run, were a failure. The Pawnee did not take to productive farming. The

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north, and the Sioux restrained from coming south of the Platte, it was hoped that a wide and safe passage could be opened for the Oregon emigrants.

In how far even the theory of civilizing the Indians through agriculture dominated government policy may be judged from the statements of the Commissioner in his annual report for 1848. The Superintendent of the Central Superintendency, located at St. Louis, had recommended the necessity of providing the Indian tribes of the prairie with suitable land for agricultural purposes, where these tribes had none of their own. This was Superintendent T. H. Harvey, who, judging from his reports, was sincere in his efforts to carry out the professed governmental Indian policy. He contended that the buffalo were approaching extinction, and that plans should be made in advance of that event for settling the tribes as farmers on lands suitable for farming. This policy according to the Commissioner, was contrary to his own recommendations "of procuring and keeping open these lands [viz. good agricultural lands] for the egress and expansion of our own population." He was of the opinion that the Indian tribes would gradually move westward after the disappearing buffalo, and so keep out of the white man's way.

The annuities of the treaty of 1833 had run out their term by 1845; and the aid to Pawnee agriculture by supplying implements, farmers and mills was subject to the Pawnee hunting north of the Platte. As a result, in the period from 1847 to 1857 the tribe was practically without government aid. In 1848 at Fort Childs, the United States government purchased Grand Island from the Pawnee for $ 2000 in merchandise, which was of incidental aid to a tribe numbering over 4,000. The acquisition of Grand Island was part of the program for the establishment of military posts on the route to Oregon.

While the school was maintained at Bellevue as a nucleus for future operations, all other civilizing activities in the tribe were practically suspended. Even the missionaries gave up, because of the hazard. South of the Platte the Pawnee claimed the land was unproductive with their methods of planting corn, and there was no available timber for building lodges. The three bands who had been north of the Platte professed in the fall of 1848 their willingness to return there, if the Teawi who had been living alone south of the Platte were made to accompany them so as to increase their military strength for defense against Sioux assaults.

The government purchased some corn for the Pawnee in the summer of 1848, but that fall they were in a miserable condition, their crops having failed because of drought.

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Marriage customs were attacked in two ways: legally and ethically. Toward the close of this period the government program called for an attempt on the part of officials of the Indian service to insist upon civil marriage under the laws of the United States, to oppose wife-purchase and the marriage of the young girls, to register civilly the marriages of those living together in accordance with old customs, and to oppose easy separation and divorce. Since the individual men and women were becoming possessors of private property in the form of land, houses, stock and implements, by controlling the inheritance of estates in terms of the white man's law, and refusing to recognize "wives" not legally married, the program began to have an effect. After 1883 missionaries of the Home Missionary Society and the Methodist Episcopal Church worked in the tribe, and developed a small congregation of church members. The missionary influence was brought to bear against the Pawnee marriage usages from a moral angle. The agent cooperated with the missionaries in persuading the Pawnee to go through a Christian marriage ceremony as well as to secure a legal certificate. By 1890 officials claimed in their reports that the Pawnee were regularly seeking the missionary to perform the marriage ceremony for them: that by prompt action they had prevented all cases which came to their attention of "selling girls for ponies"; and that while polygyny had not been stamped out, there were no new cases of a wife being taken where the man already had a wife. A final claim was that divorces were unknown, or rare, which is to be doubted.

The dancing, gambling and feasting to which the tribe was addicted were marked out as dissipations contributing to indolence, and the agent by the most active measures at his command attempted to prevent social gatherings for such purposes as much as possible. In June 1891 the agent was surprised that the tribe assembled for a dance (probably a ceremony); he ordered it stopped at once and told the people to go to their homes and attend to their work. He could not however enforce his commands, and while some did go, most remained and carried out the dance. Such social affairs kept the people away from their farms for long periods, and the crops were neglected. In the old days the Pawnee methods of cultivation were adjusted to their calendric rituals, and by June, when the time for the hunt and summer ceremonies came, the crops were "laid by"; the tribe was not yet adjusted to intensive cultivation, involving constant care.

The conflict with the Pawnee medicine men was long and difficult. The government was determined to destroy their power over the people, and to persuade the Pawnee to depend on the

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The medicine men of the tribe carried on. The Doctor Dances were given year after year; although after 1878 the great Doctor Performances through which the medicine men renewed their powers were no longer demonstrated. The function of the doctors did not disappear; health became a possession more difficult to secure as the years passed. But against the white man's diseases the folk medicine of the Pawnee doctors proved essentially futile; as did the white man's medicine itself.

With the passing of the greater part of the old ritualism and ceremony, the arts of ceremonial decoration, of making ritual costumes, bear-claw necklaces, otter-skin collars, of painting the body, went with them. The Doctor Dances kept something of the ritual decorative arts alive.

If we turn from this catalog of the decline of aboriginal Pawnee culture what can we see that had come to take its place? Needing the Indian's land for the expansion of the white man, the government was compelled to give the Indian an economy which would be self-sustaining while it confined the tribe in narrower boundaries. It gave the Indian farming. This being seasonal, and subject to the vicissitudes of the elements, it did not mean independence. For a meat supply the Indian did not use his own resources; the government gave him meat. When his crops failed, the government rationed him.

What occupations took the place of the old? The boys learned some manual arts. They could help to build their own houses, to repair their implements; the girls meanwhile learned some sewing, how to wash clothing, how to keep house. All these were essentially mechanical operations; their aesthetic returns are for the most part small. What creative satisfaction was to be had in manual arts, the boys did achieve in harness-making, carpentering, wagon-making, and the like, where they had opportunity to put into practise what they had learned.

The small measure of self-government which the Indians were offered through the Court of Indian Offenses was subject to the paternal control of the Agent and the government: it was concerned after all with the minor legal problems of their life. It helped to revive something of self-determination.

If we turn finally to the intellectual side of Pawnee life we find that practically nothing came to take the place of the old rituals and ceremonies, the old dances and social gatherings, the old traditions and songs. Missionaries had been among the Pawnee from 1835 to 1837, and again there were missionaries after 1883

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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With what results? In 1891 even the optimistic reports of the missionaries claimed only thirty-five church members, and twenty or more years later not over a seventh of the tribe even professed Christianity according to official reports.

In 1892, after the best efforts of the Pawnee for over three generations to adjust themselves to living alongside the white man, the tribe had come to a cultural impasse, with nothing to look forward to and nothing to live by.

10: Smith M-5 (1851) 1852
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every man under his vine and fig-tree; and *none* shall make them afraid." Mic. 4. 3, 4.

As hinted in a note in a previous communication, (see February Miscellany, p. 62.) the Pawnee villages are not located on their own land. Formerly the land on both sides of the Platte river belonged to them. But about the year 1835 they concluded a treaty with the United States, in which they ceded to the latter all their territory on the South side of the river. Their villages were then situated about 150 miles further up the Platte on the North side. The missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. were then residing with them, their mission stations being situated in the vicinity of these villages. When the Pawnees were at their homes, which is only four or five months of the year, (the remaining months being consumed on their summer and fall hunts) the missionaries were engaged in teaching such of their children as could be induced to attend school, and in instructing the people in the truths of religion, as well as they could according to their limited knowledge of the language. About six years ago, the powerful Sioux made repeated incursions into the Pawnee country, and the strength of the latter being very much weakened by their frequent wars with their enemies, they were obliged to succomb, and at length forced to leave their former location on the North side of the Platte, and to remove to the South side, nearer to the white settlements on the Missouri river. The missionaries too found it unsafe to remain, and it was thought advisable to suspend their missionary operations among them. Mr. and Mrs. Allis (See August Misc. 1851, pp. 221, 222, and also February Misc. 1852, p. 64.) are remnants of this noble band of missionaries, and, still cherishing the desire, that these benighted but very interesting people might be enlightened by the gospel, have, while their fellow-laborers have long ago left for other fields of usefulness, still lingered behind,—and toiled on, amidst many self-denials, privations, and discouragements, in doing whatever lay in their power for the good of these Indians. Lately the government has established Fort Kearney, not far distant from their former villages, which, it is hoped, will be a security against future incursions, and prove a safeguard, when our mission will once be established among them.

LANGUAGE.—The Pawnee language is said to be altogether different from the languages of the surrounding prairie tribes. The Otoes, the Ioways, the Osages, the Kanzas or Caws, the Omahaws, the Puncaws, etc., seem all to speak dialects of the same language, the Dakota; while the Pawnee language seems, by its great difference, to point back to the earliest periods of the residence of the Indians in this country, when a disruption may have taken place, that formed them into a distinct nation.

POPULATION, LODGES, etc.—The lower village consists of about

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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lodges. The burial grounds have been looted to only a limited extent. However, the lateness of occupancy makes it seem improbable that the site would repay detailed investigation as it falls entirely within the historic period and presents few of the true native traits of the Pawnee.

PLUM CREEK SITE.—Approximately coincident with the establishment of the Skidi village at the mouth of the Cedar, as previously noted, the greater portion of the Grands, with the Republican and Tappage bands, jointly took up their residence 8 miles farther down the Loup, also on the north bank of the stream, and within a mile of the Presbyterian mission station on Plum Creek.[61] The spot where the mission formerly stood has been recently located on the west bank of the present Council Creek, perhaps 200 yards below the point where the latter leaves the bluffs. The Pawnee site has not been definitely determined, but since it was visible from the mission, and only a mile distant,[62] it would appear that the site is to be sought just north of the Union Pacific Railroad about 8 miles southwest of Genoa. There is here a slight bench, all under cultivation, on which the village was probably located. Since the site was occupied for but a few years it is doubtful whether there remains much village detritus. This, together with the very limited search that has been made, probably accounts for the uncertainty regarding its location, and also renders it unlikely that the site possesses much of real archeological value.

REPUBLICAN PAWNEE SITES

The Republican Pawnee, an offshoot of the Grands, first appear in literature in 1777 as one of the tribes receiving presents at the Spanish post of St. Louis.[63] Their habitat even at that early date was the Republican Valley, which they abandoned during the first decade of the nineteenth century for a more secure location with the Grands on the Platte and Loup Rivers.[64] It is extremely doubtful whether this band, as such, ever resided much farther south than the valley of the Republican, as its history is one of continual warfare with the hostile Kansa on the Kansas and lower Republican Rivers. After 1812 they were nearly always intimately associated with the parent band of Grand Pawnee, and during much of the time they occupied the same village. At least two and possibly three sites may be regarded as predominantly Republican Pawnee, although others were used from time to time in conjunction with other bands.

[61] Now known as "Council Creek," the names of the two streams having been reversed since that time. "The next stream west of the Beaver is Plum Creek, on which was the mission station."—Platt, E. G., 1892, p. 131.

[62] Dunbar, 1918, pp. 648, 656.

[63] Houck, 1909, vol. 1, p. 143.

[64] Lewis and Clark, 1832, p. 709; Long, 1823, vol. 1, p. 440.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Pawnee NQ18
Winnebago NP12

and Kiowa. Mooney was present at a palaver at which a Kiowa reported upon his visit to Wovoka. The Kiowa was told by the Paiute prophet to stop dancing; consequently, he branded the Plains Ghost Dance leaders as frauds. "Sitting Bull insisted on the truth of his own representations, and when accused by A'peatan of deceiving the Indians in order to obtain their property, he replied that he had never asked them for ponies which they had given him. . . ." (p. 914). Another Arapaho leader, Black Coyote, appeared to Mooney to be a man who "wishes to be a great priest and medicine man. At the same time he keeps a sharp lookout for his temporal affairs and has managed to accumulate considerable property" and three wives. He was leader of the Ghost Dance and other Indian ceremonies, tribal delegate to Washington, captain of Indian police and county deputy sheriff. He repeatedly asked Mooney "to get him a permanent license . . . to enable him to visit the various reservations at will as a general evangel of Indian medicine and ceremony" (pp. 897–898).

Lesser's (pp. 60–76) data on the Pawnee Ghost Dance leave no doubt that Frank White, its introducer, used the dance for personal aggrandizement. Some of his special doctrines and practices were the following: he was sole authentic prophet; he demanded payment for use of designs seen in visions; he sold all paraphernalia; he was paid for the privilege of holding dances; a small face painting by him cost $5.00. In spite of his eating peyote and drinking whiskey, the Ghost Dancers lavished gifts, money, and pretty girls on him. The revolt against him seemed to result partly from jealousy of his wealth.

The leader of the Caddo Ghost Dance was John Wilson, who was also a shaman and a peyotist.[2] The fact that Wilson later modified the peyote cult in order to collect hundreds of dollars certainly places him in the class of proselyters for gain par excellence. La Barre (p. 158) tells of the wealth he received and makes a classic understatement: "The economic motive seems evident in much of Wilson's behavior."

Except for the case of John Wilson, missionary to the Shawnee, Quapaw, Caddo, Delaware, Osage, Potawatomi, and others, the literature contains but few direct statements suggesting that financial gain motivated agents to spread the peyote cult.[3] However, the very fact that peyote is universally considered to be a cure and that leaders are often looked upon similarly to shamans suggests that carriers of the cult could have been paid for their services. A great many other Indians are known to have proselyted beyond their own tribes.

The Winnebago, John Rave, went to South Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin to preach the new religion after establishing the cult among his own people in Nebraska. A Kiowa, Jim Aton, a famous peyote doctor, held meetings for the Creek, Yuchi, Shawnee, Kiekapoo, Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Kiowa, Mescalero-Apache, and Quapaw; also whites and Mexicans.[4] Have these men and other famous proselyters spread the gospel of peyote solely out of love for their fellow men? No doctrine of the peyote cult commands members to go forth and convert other tribes.

That believers have gone out to spread the cult because of possible economic gain is established in the case of Ben Lancaster. It is almost impossible to conclude that Leo Okio and Lone Bear had no other ideas than religion when they held meetings in Nevada. My Uintah Ute informants accused the Sioux, Sam Roan Bear, of spreading peyotism for money, and when the members were broke, he did not

[2] Mooney, 1896b, 914–915; La Barre, 1938, 65, 151; Petrullo, 1934, 158.
[3] La Barre; Schultes, 1938.
[4] La Barre, 52, fn. 114.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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3. *arisit kustiwu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you) 539 831
4. *wirakukuwatu*	when I am lonesome.
5. *hiru hira hai ira'*	(Sung syllables)

A woman sings:

1. *ha ku ahaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2. *tisiratuutara* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1. *taku hiru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2. *titaku hawa hiru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1. *atsiksu tatuuta*	My thoughts are
2. *tihi rarux kusaaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, 572 as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely con- 562 fined to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in 857 groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go 868 to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the household routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people 512 would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile away. This was an opportunity for meeting. Little girls when going for [521] water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship [584] were often made here. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she 462 no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so pre- 885 occupied with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all [582] for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart 571 in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friend- 525 ship as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to de- [887] velop "cronies." John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi 571 Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in 521 the following words: [797]

> They were given to assembling in little groups: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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ples—and the boy Otter. Of the dried and cultivated foods from White Woman's stores they took:

Roasted corn kernels (*rawaritu*)	2 small sacks (50-lb flour size)
Dried blue flour corn (*uraax-katit*)	1 small sack (50-lb flour size)
Dried spotted corn (*rikis-tipiku*)	1 sack
Beans	1 sack
Pumpkin mats	2 mats
Dried buffalo meat (*takaski*)	½ parfleche
Trade store goods	Flour (50-lb sack); coffee, sugar, baking powder; dried peaches and dried prunes

As on the previous occasion, Grandma contributed her specialty, pounded up sweet corn mixed with sugar, *rikis-karus-taparitu*, "corn-sweet-pounded-up," that she had pounded in the mortar before they left. She pounded as much of it as she could so that the family could carry it along. This was a valuable ready-to-eat food and there would be no time to prepare it while they were on the march without her, since she would remain on Grand Island. Particularly in winter, there would be little time to cook.

No Corn, wife of Horse Rider, took a similar array of foods to White Woman, but less in quantity. She took:

Roasted corn kernels (*rawaritu*)	1 sack
Dried blue flour corn (*uraax-katit*)	½ sack
Dried spotted corn (*rikis-tipiku*)	1 sack
Beans	1 sack
Pumpkin mats	1 mat
Dried buffalo meat (*takaski*)	½ parfleche
Trade store goods	Flour (50-lb sack); coffee, sugar, dried peaches and dried prunes

The roasted (*rawaritu*) corn was the quickest-cooking, while the dried blue flour corn (*uraax-katit*) had to soak and took much longer to cook. The spotted corn was parched in a pan with coals. For this winter expedition the main difference in the supplies was that they took half or less of the longer-cooking dried blue flour corn. Otherwise the supplies were substantially similar. However, they were out on their winter expedition about 3½ months rather than the summer period of only two.

While there is no way of getting a reliable estimate of how much these supplies amounted to in our terms, Samuel Allis who was missionary to the Skidi and traveled with them on their hunts in 1835–1836, stated that

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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*224 *484 262 each parfleche that they carried with them contained four bushels of corn or eighty pounds of dried buffalo meat. The proportions of the dry meat he describes as 3 feet long and 2 feet wide per sheet.

• [797] [175] [252] It should be noted that some of the trade store supplies had their analogies in the native foods. Flour was analogous to finely pounded-up corn made into corn bread that was baked in the ashes, and the dried fruits with traditional dried wild plums and sand cherries, while sugar was obtained from the box elder.

*224 *484 492 The cache pit being in order and the provisions packed for travel, the horse gear was all gotten in order, the saddles and straps mended so that the goods could be securely packed on the horse. Finally the long-awaited announcement for leaving would come. The specific directions were from Man Chief of the Tsawi Band who was leading the hunt.

The night before it would be stated that rainy conditions would have to be taken account of. If they had a hard rain early in the morning, then they would have to delay their departure until the next day, but "If it rains only a little in the morning, as soon as the rain stops, we can go on." On the other hand, should it rain during the night, they would certainly go on next morning. If they had already started and it began to rain they would cover up the loaded horses with an old tent skin they carried along for the purpose and say, "It's on the way," and continue, unless it kept on raining hard all through the day, when they would have to unload the horses, cover up the baggage with a tent skin, and all crawl under it until the rain was over. Then they would reload and go on.

[721] Another cause for delay in their departure would be an enemy attack when they could do nothing else but stay and defend themselves. This would delay them for a day or two.

Meanwhile everyone was anxious to be on their way. On the appointed morning or the night before, Horse Rider tethered the horses right outside the door of the lodge. They would be loaded as for the summer hunt, a place being arranged for No Corn to ride because of her arthritis.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

Pawnee text version of making "beans-inside" bread, Weltfish, 1937, pp. 37-38.

P 31, 61
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In the settlement near Fremont, Nebraska (Pahaku), the oldest brother of the three, Rotten House, and Sitting Hawk, the second oldest, and Victory Call, the youngest, established a huge earth lodge, 90 feet in diameter with two sets of central pillars, concentrically arranged. In it he assembled a large group of "brothers," most of them doctors.

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The integrity of the account of Pawnee life obtained from informants by the field ethnologist is clearly validated by the account of an eyewitness, the missionary Samuel Allis, 1887, who lived with the Skidi in Old Village more than a hundred years before this record was made. He comments on the efficiency with which the domestic arrangements operate:

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> [H]e lives with her in her father's lodge. It is customary for a young man to marry in a family, and if there is more than one daughter, he takes the oldest and so on as fast as they mature and gives a horse for each additional wife. In this way one sometimes gets as many as six or seven wives. They are like the Mormons in some ways. The oldest wife is "Sister Young" or "Sister Kimball" and so on and is mistress of the lodge. Each woman, however, has her own bundle of meat, corn, etc. and takes her turn in cooking; and the lord sleeps by turns in different parts of the lodge to avoid jealousy. Some of them have their women in different lodges and own a share in each lodge. In this way they fare better. *They have so much system in cooking, dressing robes, cornfields and other work that they get along better than one would suppose.**

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This outlook on the fluidity of the division of labor was not confined to the Pawnees. Wolf Chief, an old man of the Hidatsa tribe, a Siouan group of North Dakota, stated in 1910, "In my tribe in old times, some men helped their wives in their gardens. Others did not. Those who did not help their wives talked against those who did saying, 'That man's wife makes him her servant!' And others retorted, 'Look, that man puts all the hard work on his wife!'" "Men were not all alike; some did not like to work in the garden at all, and cared for nothing but to go around visiting or to be off on a hunt. My father Small Ankle liked to garden and often helped his wives. He told me that was the best way to do. 'Whatever you do,' he said, 'help your wife in all things.' He taught me to clean the garden, to help gather the corn, to hoe and to rake. My father said that that man lived best and had plenty to eat who helped his wife. One who did not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 116, footnote 1.)

* Italics mine.